13: Rivet--69 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 181, 266, 721

The savage thinks only of killing; but in spite of these habits, he is not cannibalistic. However, Barriero says that as soon as his enemy falls dead, the conqueror tears out his heart and eats his brain (1); but Villavicencio and Lubbock affirm that cannibalism does not exist among our Indians (2) and no traveller, to my knowledge, has confirmed the account of Barriero (3).

Osculati reports that, "The savages make a kind of bowl with the skull of their victim, in which they drink a great quantity of chicha, thinking to show their profound scorn for the dead in this manner" (4). This detail has not been noted by any other author and it is well to remember that the Italian traveller did not visit the Jíbaros, but was simply lucky in seeing some representatives (belonging undoubtedly to the tribe of Canelos) in the Ecuadorian city of Ambato. Because of this fact, his account may be suspected of inaccuracy.

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1. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 114.
2. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 360 . Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.
3. Cf. Theodor Koch. Die Anthropophagie der sudamerikanischen Indianer (Archives internationales d'Ethnographie, Leyde. Vol. XII, 1899, pages 78-110).
4. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 30.

13: Rivet--69-70 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727

The custom of the Jíbaro is quite different: as soon as he has killed an enemy, he cuts off his head in order to make a mummy. [70] The name of these human trophies has been noted differently by travellers, who have transcribed it according to the phonetics of their native language; so one finds various authors writing: Shanza, Shanja, Zhanzha, Chancha, Zansza, Zanza. After having heard this word pronounced by different people, and living for a long time in Jíbaro country, the true phonetic orthography seems to me to be tsantsa.

13: Rivet--70-71 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 727

Here is the method of preparation: first the savage separates the head from the trunk by a cut which, as nearly as possible, begins very low in back at the level of the shoulders, and descends in front almost down to the chest. Then he cuts away the scalp and the skin of the face from the underlying bones, through a median and posterior incision which begins at the forehead and usually descends to the base of the neck. Exceptionally, he uses a double lateral incision rising toward the mastoid region. Thus the whole cranial and facial skeleton is quite easily removed.

This skin is immediately put to boil in water in order to asepticize the tissues and the hair. To this water, doubtless to increase the disinfecting power of the solution, the Indian adds certain herbs from the forest (1). This operation finished, the skin is placed over a mould consisting of a round, very hot stone, this is replaced by a smaller one, and so forth, the last used being the size of an orange, while with the aid of another equally hot stone, the Indian smooths over the skin on the exterior as with an iron (2); the lips have been pierced with three openings meeting each other and are carefully fastened together so as to prevent the mouth from opening while the dessication is going on; it appears that upon certain tsantsas, the same precaution has been taken for the

1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 29.

2. Juan Ansola Martinez. Del pais de los Jíbaros (Blánco y Negro. Madrid, June 1, 1906, no. 839).

eyelids. Little by little, under the action of the heat, the skin shrinks, hardens and takes on a very characteristic deep brown color. The posterior incision is then carefully sewed up, after the stone on the inside has been taken out, and a hole is pierced in the top of the head, for the purpose of attaching a suspension cord.

The preparation does not require more than one day (3). [71] Some of the hair, which is too thick for the reduced surface of the scalp, is shaved off and used to make the girdles of which I have spoken, then the head is combed and decorated with some ornaments. In order to make the tsantsa more durable, they fill it from time to time with very hot sand, and expose it to the heat of the fire (4).

Such is the current procedure employed by the Indians of Macas, Gualaquiza and Zamora. The missionaries say that a warrior never leaves on an expedition without carrying with him in his shigra the necessary stone for making the mummies: This is probably the last stone used, the size of which determines the final reduction of the mummy, or perhaps in case of a distant expedition, the Jíbaro contents himself with a single stone instead of the complete set which he usually uses.

3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, page 63-64. Reiss is wrong when he tells that the procedure lasts eight days; according to the German traveller, during this time, the one performing the operation should not use his hands for any other work, and he should be fed like a child: Reiss, op. cit., p. 335.

4. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 159.

13: Rivet--71 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727

I have every reason to believe that among the other tribes the procedure does not differ to a great extent. However, a tsantsa described by Colini seems, as we shall see, to have been made by a more complicated procedure. In any case, one cannot repeat too often that the Jíbaros do not use any secret. In Quito itself, a medical student from the city of Loja made some imitations with subjects from the ampitheater, as small as the original pieces, according to the method I have just described. Dr. Wilhelm Hein has made similar attempts successfully in the pathological-anatomical institute of the general hospital of Vienna (1). In the report that he made on this subject he shows four mummies made with the heads of one woman and three men, and for purposes of comparison three authentic tsantsas belonging to the Imperial and Royal Museum of Natural History of Vienna. The shrinking was done with the aid of warm stones; on the other hand, an attempt to desiccate the skin from a woman's head by use of the sun failed completely. It has therefore been shown that mummies can be made by the process indicated, with fairly great ease.

1. Wilhelm Hein. Die Kopftrophaen der Jíbaros (Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Vol. XXIII, 1893. Sitzungsberichte, page 28).

13: Rivet--71-72 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 435

The first tsantsas coming to Europe had their hour [72] of renown and attained extraordinary prices. In 1865, one of them was sold for 1500 francs (1). Ten years ago another was sold at auction for 500 francs at the Hotél Drouot (2). Actually, these objects are much less rare and have lost a part of their commercial value. At Macas, at Gualaquiza and at Zamora, the whites buy them directly from the Indians for ten sucres, that is 25 francs, and take them to Cuenca, Riobamba and Loja, where they resell them for 30 to 50 sucres, that is 75 to 125 francs. In Europe, the best examples are worth 200 and 300 francs and there is not an important museum that does not possess at least one. In Paris, the Museum of Natural History has five of them, the Anthropological Society one, the Ethnographic Museum of the Trocadero three, the Army Museum one, and also there are a good number in private collections.

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1. Pozzi, op. cit. page 359.
2. D. Les Tetes Momifiees des Incas (La Nature, 20 Octobre 1900, No. 1430, p. 336.

These trophies have always given rise to the most fantastic theories. A tsantsa sent in 1862 to the Internation Exposition in London by the Chilean Consul, Don. R. de Silva Ferro, was exhibited there as an Inca head (!) (1) In 1882, Barbosa Rodrigues attributes the specimen that he describes to the Mundurucus (2). The anonymous author who published one of the specimens shown by Ecuador at the World Exposition in 1900, reports that the Inca warriors had the custom of suspending the heads of their enemies from their saddles (?) (3); and only recently the tsantsas were presented by the Berlin papers as heads of pygmies from the Congo. (4) These errors are all the less explicable since for a long time serious ethnographers have known that at present they are the work of the Jívaros.

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1. Bollaert, op. cit., page 114, note 1.
2. J. Barbosa Rodrigues. Tribu dos Mundurucus. Cabeca mumificada (Revista da exposicao anthropologica, Brazileira. Rio de Janero, 1882, page 39).
3. D. Les Têtes Momifiées des Incas, op. cit.
4. Je sais tout, 15 Février, 1907.

It seems, however, that before the conquest and in the years that followed, other Indians also made these objects. In fact, here is what Zarate says of the natives who inhabit the region between the Cordillera and the Pacific on the present territory of the republic of Ecuador: "In some temples, especially in the towns that they call de Pasao, on all the pillars of these there were men and children crucified, the bodies or the skins so [73] well cured that they did not smell badly, and there were nailed up many heads of Indians that had been shrunk with a certain decoction until they were the size of a fist" (1).

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1. Augustin de Zarate, Historia del Descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Pérv, Séville, 1577. Liv. I, chap. 4, page 3. I can only find on the actual map of Ecuador, Cape Pasado, of which the name recalls the locality mentioned by Zarate. This cape is on the coast of the province of Manabi, a little north of Bahia de Caráques.

More recently, Saffray reports similar details from the Indians of Choco, who live in Colombia along the Atrato. Two of these tribes, the Cunas and the Caimanes, still spoke in 1869 the Cueba language, "the most widespread language from Veragua to Guayaquil at the time of the discovery." "In olden times," Saffray says, "when a chief died, they put his body on a wicker framework above a slow fire until it was completely desiccated...For commoners, they kept only the head, de-boned and dried in such a manner that, the flesh being molded in a uniform fashion, there remained a perfect reproduction of the original reduced to almost one-sixth of the original size." (1) The drawing that accompanies Saffray's account permits no doubt that the mummies made by the Indians of Choco and the tsantsas of the Jívaros are identical. At the end of the 18th century, the same costumes were still in use among the natives of the Pompa del Sacramento near the river Huallaga (2).

1. Dr. Saffray. Voyage à la Nouvelle Grenade, 1869. (Le Tour du Monde, T. XXVI, 1873, 2 sem., pp. 102, 103, 111.)

2. PP. Manuel Sobreviela et Narciso y Barcelo. Voyages au Perou faits dans les années 1791 to 1794. French translation by P. F. Henry. Paris, 1809, in-8°, page 175.

13: Rivet--73 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727

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Some other tribes emply methods of preserving bodies of their enemies that are similar but not identical. For instance, an ancient Spanish writer tells us of the Indians of Popayan (Southern Colombia): "The skins of the corpses that they have eaten, having been flayed, filled with coarse ashes, they have set up against the walls of their houses like people." (Luis Torres de Mendoza. Colección de documentos ineditos del Archivo de Indias. Madrid, tomo V. 1866, page 489.

Lorente, speaking of the Huancas, a Pre-Columbian tribe that lived in the Jauja valley (Peru), reports that they skinned their prisoners and with these skins, filled with ashes, made victory trophies that they exhibited in their temples. (Sebastian Lorente. Historia antigua del Perú. Lima, 1869, page 82).

13: Rivet--73-75
116, 175, 727

(no date) 1908

Jívaro-1

At present, the Jívaros alone have kept the monopoly on the making of mummified heads.

It was the Fathers Manuel Sobreviela and Narcisso y Barcelo, who, in the work that I have just cited, were the first to indicate the method of preparation of these war trophies and to mention the celebration which took place over them. In 1815, Father Prieto also gives a short but excellent description (1). These details [74] that one finds in Villavicencio (2) are still unknown to European ethnographers. W. Bollaert was the first to possess an example of the Jíbaro art of taxidermy which he had received in June, 1861, from M. Cassola, but the publication he made on this subject did not appear until 1863, and the year before Moreno Maiz presented to the Anthropological Society of Paris and described a specimen which had been sent him by M. Galvez, Minister from Peru to France. Since then, quite a number of publications have been made on tsantsas and I give here as complete a list as possible in chronological order.* [75]...A general type stands out, of which I will try to describe the characteristics.

Most of the Jívaro tribes are represented in collections: Pastazas, Tambos or Tumbas, Jambas, Gualaquizas, Achuales, Antipas, Macas, Muratos, Aguarunas, Zamoras.

1. Prieto. Descripción de la provincia de los Jívaros, etc. op. cit. in Compte, op. cit., Tome II, page 63.

2. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 361.

* See original source for this bibliography.

So obviously this is a very general custom in all the Jívaro country.

As a general rule, mens heads were used; however, one of the tsantsas published by Lubbock was feminine. It is possible that this was a question of an exceptional case, explicable perhaps by the status of the victim, who was the wife of the chief of the Achuales (1).

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1. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13; Rivet--75-76 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 142

It is impossible to determine exactly the age of the victims. It seems, however, that most of the tsantsas are skins of men in the prime of life. White hair has only been found on two of the mummies described by Colini and on my specimens (e) and (f); but it is important to note that the Jívaros, like all the Indians of Ecuador, [76] rarely have white hair. (1) A tsantsa described by Virchow, which came from an individual about 50 years old, showed no trace of it. (2)

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1. In Ecuador, I have often heard the following saying. "An Indian with white hair is more than a hundred years old".

2. Virchow. Eine präparirte Kopf- und Gesichtshaut eines Guambia, op. cit., p. 78.

The first characteristic that strikes one on examining these mummies is their smallness. The following table, in which the average measurements of tsantsas are contrasted with the measurements taken of two Jívaros, gives an exact idea of this reduction:

Measurements	Tsantsas Max.	Min.	Av.	Living (av. of two measurements)	*[see below]
Horizontal circumference	275.0	200.0	238.0	560.0	42.5
Super-circular transverse curve	170.0	125.0	144.0		
Maximum anterio-posterior diameter	95.0	72.0	84.3	181. 0	46.6
Maximum transverse diameter	70.0	45.0	55.1	150. 0	36.7
Total height of the face	82.5	67.0	75.9	191. 0	35.0
Maximum bizygomatic diameter	64.0	39.0	49.9	142. 0	35.1

* ratio of the dimensions of tsantsas to those of the living=100

Thus it appears clearly from this comparison that the cranuim is obviously more shrunken transversely than anterio-posteriorly; the face is reduced more symmetrically and to a greater degree than the cranium; there is a disharmony between the two parts of the head; the various parts of the face have not kept their relative proportions; the nose and the lips appear enormous; besides, at the level of the cheeks there appears a

transversal flattening as definite as that of the cranium, which is even more striking because at the level of the zygomatic arches, the natural proportions are almost preserved.

The hair in general is very pretty; its length varies from 32 to 65 cm. The hair usually hangs loose but sometimes is braided. It is smooth, coarse and strong, but also [77] supple. It always shows a tendency to a certain waviness without ever being curly. Usually it is jet black, shiny. Sometimes it is very dark chestnut, rarely light auburn. Sometimes it shows red lights, but I am not sure whether this coloring, which is always found near the roots and parts next to the face should be attributed to an impregnation of the red coloring which they use in tatooing. Virchow has made a very careful study of the hair of a tsantsa. I quote from his memoir (1) the following details, "Although to the naked eye the hair was ebony black, the microscope revealed quite a number of light hairs with little color. Certain hairs were large and yellow, and showed, beneath a thin, colorless layer, a light yellow substance in which were found very small yellow-brown grains of pigment in short rows, usually fuseform, and in the center an abundant medullary substance of rather angular shape, slightly more granular, and usually of brown-yellow color. Most of the hair, on the other hand, had a completely colorless cortex. Small black isolated grains were scattered through it uniformly in the center, more com-

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1. Virchow. Eine praparirte Kopf-und Gesichtsbraut eines Guambia, op. cit. p. 79-80

pactly on the periphery; the cuticle was a little thicker, and instead of a medullary substance there was often only a series of clear spaces. It was only in isolated examples of especially thick hair that a dark brown medullary substance occurred. In general, this was small and in no case really black. Only a few rare examples appeared completely black or brownish black; but even with these the pigment was more compact at the periphery. On the darkest examples, there was only a narrow transparent circle around a very small and black medullary substance.

"The hair varied a great deal in diameter. The finest examples were circular in cross-section; the coarsest examples were oval, flattened, [78] lenticular or reniform in cross section; and quite a number had triangular cross-sections with rounded angles: these were almost always coarse specimens with a brownish black marginal zone, a lighter center, and a smaller dark medullary substance. The medullary substance of the oval or flattened hairs was either quite small or quite light.

The skin is usually like oiled black leather, but sometimes it is deep brown or even light brown; in cross-section it has a light brown pigment. Extremely tough and resistant, it is not brittle. Frequently one sees reddish areas or lines of tattooing. Moreno Maiz, on his cross-sections made transparent by turpentine treatment, observed that it had preserved all the anatomical elements(sudoriparous ducts and glands, pilous roots, sebaceous glands, dermis, and epidermic layer) (1). Generally, there is neither beard nor moustache. Sometimes however, there are some stiff, rough hairs on the upper lip and cheek, and Example B even shows a little moustache and a short beard.

The eyebrows are quite often long and thick. On Example E, some hairs measure 2 cm. They are almost always black, but sometimes they are chestnut.

The eyelids are inverted and closed. Quite often the traces of a seam sewing them together are visible. One can sometimes perceive a few black eyelashes.

The nasal-buccal region is always projected very far in front like a snout. The nose, the end of which is turned up and often flattened, is widened, and there is a break at its root, as if it had been jerked forward and upward. The nostrils have wide openings, pointing almost directly forward, allowing the fairly numerous hairs within the cavity to be seen; sometimes they are completely obliterated by a kind of pitch. Rarely, there is a perforation in the septum and immediately below this a median orifice.

1. Moreno Maiz, op. cit., page 187.

13: Rivet--78-80 (no date) 1908 Jívaro -1
116, 727

The large and strongly projecting lips are always pierced with three holes directed downwards. Strands of unbleached cotton pass through these holes and fasten the lips by three loops joined together with a transverse thread. To these strings are attached some little cords of the same kind which hang in a fringe 45 to 50 cm. long. Certain authors have said that the strings indicate the number of warriors killed at the time the head was shrunken (1) [79, 80]: in this case they would really be quipu, a result, perhaps, of Peruvian influence, an influence that certain ethnographers believe probable (2). The number of strings varies from 24 to 36, neither are they uniform in size, and the point of attachment of the strings is not always the same. Some are fastened to the vertical loops, others on the horizontal connecting bands; it seems, according to my observations, that the median vertical loop always has two. It is remarkable that perfect symmetry is never observed. (One may also note, on the diagrams on the opposite side (fig. 23), the various arrangements that I have observed on my specimens.) I would not dare at this time to commit myself as to whether this fringe is a simple ornament or has the significance of a quipu.

1. Exposition Universelle de 1867. Republique de L'Equateur. Notice et catalogue par Th. Mannequin. Paris, 1867, pp. 58 and 61.
2. Ratzel. Volkerkunde, tome III, p. 713.

13: Rivet--78-80 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 727

Giglioli mentions a tsantsa made by the Aguarunas, in which the lips had been pierced by three pieces of chonta instead of the customary string (1).

1. Giglioli, op. cit., page 202.

In general the ears are very well shrunk and delicately bordered. The lobe is always perforated and sometimes in this perforation is placed a little peg of wood or even, as the example published by Lubbock, a tube of bamboo similar to those that I have described as ear ornaments. The chin appears retreating because of the projection of the nasal-buccal region.

The forehead is laterally compressed and at the level of the temples there are always two depressions, usually very well marked, into which the fleshy part of the thumb fits very easily.

Sometimes the cervical cut passes very near the chin, sometimes a centimeter or two of the skin of the neck is spared. Sometimes the cut is stitched to a hoop of wood in order to preserve the circular form (I), but most often the opening is laterally flattened. On most of the mummies, there is a medial posterior cut from the occiput to the place where the neck was severed: this is the trace of the incision necessary for the preparation; an exception is my Example K, which shows two lateral cuts up each side of the neck toward the mastoidal region, and on my Example E, the posterior incision does not meet the cervical cut and is in form, of an occipital buttonhole. (1)

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1. Virchow. Eine praparirte Kopf-und Gesichtsbraut eines Guambia, op. cit., p. 78.

The vertex is pierced with either one or two circular holes visibly placed [81] one before the other on the median line. In the last case, the anterior opening is useless; but the posterior opening or the single opening always is used for a strong double string, held inside the head by a little stick which is placed across the orifice when the tsantsa is suspended. On my Example B, three skins of calistes [trans. humming birds ?] are attached to this string; sometimes its lower end extends through the opening of the neck and is decorated with a small tuft of feathers. Example E has, suspended from the labial strings, two garlands of the wings of Mallaspis antennatus [trans. a beetle]. Sometimes similar ornaments are put in the ears (examples G and I). Hamy has described a tsantsa wearing a small tayucunchi (2).

2. Hamy.) Nouveaux renseignements sur les Indiens Jívaros, op. cit., note 1, p. 58.

13: Rivet--81, 116, 727 (no date) 1908 Jívaro

There are, I believe, the principal characteristics of the shrunken heads of the Jívaros.

Certain tsantsas published by other authors differ a little from the type which I have just described.

These differences may depend on their origin: these objects have always been acquired directly from the Indians, and been passed on to Europe. Only the tsantsa described by Moreno Maiz came from an old grave (huaca) located in the Jívaro territory (1), and it had suffered from its stay in the ground. It is probable that this head had been put at the side of a dead Jívaro chief, since, as a consequence of decomposition and time, it was little by little buried under the detritus from the hut or grave itself, which makes one believe it had been buried. In any case, it is an isolated occurrence.

More interesting are the morphological differences.

At the time of Lubbock's article, Franks mentioned a mummy which was part of the national collection of London, presented by the Prince Consort in 1853. This example, which unfortunately has not been described in detail, was only a thumb high and was placed on a stick and dressed like a doll. It was discovered in a tomb in Pisco (Peru) (2); to my mind, because of its origin and characteristics, this object should not be identified with the tsantsas.

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1. Moreno Maiz, op. cit., page 185.
2. Lubbock, op. cit., page 31.

The authenticity of one of the mummies published by Colini can not be doubted, even though it differs appreciably [82] from the current examples (Plate I, fig. 3). Here is the detailed description that I quote from the learned memoir of the Italian ethnographer (1): "This head came from the Muratos; the horizontal circumference at the level of the forehead is 26 cm., at the level of the mouth 31 cm.; the height of the face is from 12 cm. on a median line, to 8 cm. 5 on the sides; the width from one ear to the other is 11 cm. The dark chestnut hair is 25 cm. long. The head is much flattened laterally and the face projects forward, especially its lower half, in the region of the nose and the mouth. The lateral frontal-temporal depressions are deep. The eyebrows are thick, long and very black; at the inner angle of one eye, one can see the trace of stitches made apparently with black thread. The eyelids are completely hidden. There is no beard; inside and at the entrance of the nostrila there are numerous hairs. In the ears one sees traces of large holes which served to hold ornaments. The chin is contracted; although the skin is black and glossy, one can nevertheless distinguish large reddish stains everywhere.

1, Colini. Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., p. 28-29. This tsantsa was given to the Prehistoric-Ethnographic Museum in Rome by M. Lucioli; it is numbered 26800.

The principal characteristic, which distinguishes this head from all the known examples, is the presence of a long chonta point, with a maximum diameter of 1 cm., penetrating under the nasal septum and coming out by the vertex, at the place where the suspension cord is usually placed: this point sticks out 3 cm. in front and 4 cm. 5 behind. Two cotton cords are fastened around the front end of the stick, passing parallel to each other across the nose and forehead, and wound around the back end; 55 cm. of the length remains free and hanging.

Another peculiarity of this head is the existence of three little chonta points, 6 cm. long, stuck vertically through the lips, at the spots where, on the other examples, were found the three holes for the cords that bound them together. Cotton threads are rolled around these sticks, passing alternately above and below the mouth, so that the lips are kept tightly closed. Then another sharp stick is fixed in one of the ears, at the entrance of the auditory canal, at the [83] place where a small hole occurs on some specimens. This head has preserved a part of the skin of the neck about 2 cm. long, covered with black hairs. The neck section is affixed to a circle of wood by a strong stitching of black thread."

On the subject of this truly very curious tsantsa, Colini advances the very rational and seductive hypothesis that here we have a mummy in the process of preparation. The nasal-sagittal stick and the cord fastened to it are probably for the purpose of compressing the portion of the face which, because of the presence of thicker fleshy parts,

is the least sensitive to the action of hot stones and would remain too prominent. Moreover, while resting on the nose, the cord keeps it well opened, but also deforms it by compressing the extremity. The labial sticks probably serve to keep in place the threads which assure the closing of the mouth. As for the little stick in the ear, it was probably for the purpose of keeping the auricle close to the head (2). I would not hesitate in agreeing completely with Colini's opinion, which also explains the very characteristic fracture that all the tsantsas have at the foot of the nose because of the action of the anterior cord, if one constantly found the sub-nasal hole on the shrunken heads; doubtless it is far from being rare: it existed on the two tsantsas described by Hamy (Specimens A and B) and it appears clearly on the print that Lubbock published; the second head described by Colini also shows it; but among all the other authors who, before or after the memoir of Colini, have described similar trophies, none mention the presence of this hole; since this might be an omission on their part, I have systematically searched for this characteristic on my unpublished specimens and I have not found it on any of them; in Example E a doubt exists, for the nostrils are filled with a black resin which, in running over the upper lip, might cover the hole. Also I have never observed the perforation located at the entrance of the auditory canal which Colini believes to have found again on his second example. It is therefore impossible to consider this method of preparation as general;

2. Colini. Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 29.

it is not even peculiar to one tribe, since one can find the sub-nasal hole on tsantsas coming from the Jambas, the Achuales, the Gualaquizas, the Macas and the Muratos. However, I think it is now an exceptional procedure [84] which perhaps used to be general, but is tending to disappear in order to give place to a quicker and simpler procedure.

After having described the general type of the tsantsas, and the authentic pieces distinguished by certain characteristics, I must speak of the false tsantsas, were it only to put collectors on guard, for they are frequently found in Europe, and just recently a Parisian naturalist displayed three in the window of his store.

Philippi (1) is the first who called attention to the strange business which certain whites living in the Jívaro country were carrying on, having learned the method of manufacture from the Indians. The example he published was the work of one of these unscrupulous individuals, by acknowledgment of the seller. According to the description given by Philippi and the pictures accompanying the article, the skill of the counterfeiter was not inferior to that of the Jívaro himself. The procedure employed was evidently identical and I think that it would have been difficult, without knowing, to discover the non-authenticity of the piece. It is the head of a woman, but we have seen that Lubbock has described an authentic feminine tsantsa. The lips, perforated in three places, do not have the cotton thread fringe, and in the holes are found small pieces of wood, but we have seen that one tsantsa of Giglioli possessed the same peculiarity, as well as one of the samples described by Colini. On the other hand, one can note on this shrunken head the exaggeration of a characteristic found on authentic pieces: it seems

1. Philippi. Menschenköpfe als Trophäen, etc., op. cit., page 343.

that the amateur maker did not know as well as the Indians how to make the heat act on the fleshy parts of the face, particularly the lips and the nose; but this characteristic would not have been sufficient (2), I believe, to discredit the authenticity of the object.

2. According to the print accompanying Philippi's article, it appears that the suspension cord is missing. The text does not mention this matter.

The same difficulty does not occur with another false example, published as such by Ambrosetti (1). The mummy was made not with a Jívaro head, but with the head of a half-breed; the hair is short, coarse, rough, stiff, and forms a peak on the forehead; the beard is slight on the sides of the [85] face, but the almost blond moustache is large and drooping, and the chin is covered with coarse, stiff hairs. The cheek-bones are very prominent, the nose a little flattened, the eyebrows very marked; the lobes of the ears are not perforated. The shape of the face is better preserved than on the real tsantsas, the forward projection of the whole nasal-buccal region with the fracture at the base of the nose, so characteristic of the real tsantsas does not exist. Along each side of the neck there is a lateral incision, ending at a place behind the ear; the suspension cord, the fringe and the lip perforations are absent. Moreover the neck was closed with a mass of fresh wax and the inside of the head filled with narrow bandages, cut alternately along the edges, of a shiny black cotton material of European origin. All these characteristics easily prove that this object is not the work of Jíbaros having killed a half-breed, but of a counterfeiter less aware of the original procedure than the one who made the tsantsa of Philippi. This head strangely resembles the false mummies that I have lately seen exhibited, as I have said, in the window of a Paris naturalist.

I have procured for myself in Quito a tsantsa made by a student in Loja, which I will speak of later (Platel, fig. 1).

1. Ambrosetti, op. cit.

13: Rivet--84-86 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 727

The head seems to have belonged to a male or female Indian from the mountains. It has been shrunk even more than a real mummy; its anterio-posterior diameter measures 59 mm., its transverse diameter 50 mm., the horizontal circumference 185 mm., the super-auricular curve 105 mm., the total height of the face 57 mm., the bizygomatic diameter 45 mm. The harmony of the proportions of the face and the cranium is perfect. There is no lateral flattening. The chestnut hair is 12 cm. long., it is finer, more supple and more curly than Jívaro hair. The skin is dull black; it is thin, fragile, brittle, and yields to slight pressure: as the result of a fall, the whole right side of the face is broken. The sample is much lighter than the real Indian trophies.

It has neither beard or moustache, but on the forehead, the cheeks, the chin and the upper lip, there is a fine down. The dark chestnut eyebrows are well developed, the eyelashes are perfectly visible.

The traits of the physiognomy are much better preserved than on real tsantsas. The nose does not have the fracture at its base, the [86] lobe is not widened but quite flattened at its end. The nostrils are narrow; their openings not gaping and forward-facing. Only the width of the interorbital space is clearly exaggerated clearly. The forward projection of the nasal-buccal region is very slight. The lips are fairly thin and well outlined. The form of the chin is exact; the shape of the cheeks and of the throat is very well preserved. The neck is 1 cm. high; the cut is circular; at this level the skin is coated with pitch.

The ears are very well reduced, the lobes are not perforated. The lips do not have the three customary holes, and no hole exists at the vertex. The temporal-frontal depressions are also absent.

The incision, instead of being in back, is double and lateral, going up as far as the mastoidal region. The seams are hidden under a thin coating of resin.

A ball of resin which originally blocked the cervical opening rolls around like a rattle inside the head.

To sum up, this mummy is distinguished from the tsantsas by a great many characteristics, and even the perfection of the reduction, which makes it a real miniature human head, distinguishes it at first sight from the ordinary examples of Jívaro taxidermy.

In order to complete this monograph on the tsantsas, I must mention one curious specimen that I procured. It is a sloth head (probably Choloepus didactylus, Lin.), shrunk and treated in the manner of a human head, which a Jívaro wore suspended by its hair (Plate I, fig. 2). The only author who, to my knowledge, has pointed out that the Indians sometimes practice mummification on the remains of animals is Barriero (1). "If the Jíbaro is pressed by the enemy, says he, so that he does not have time to cut off the head of his slain adversary, the traditional celebration takes place nevertheless and the tsantsa is replaced by a head of a sow which is treated in the same fashion as the real human trophy". It is possible that the object that I am about to describe was made for the same purpose.

The head of the animal is appreciably shrunk, if one compares it with the stuffed examples in the mammology hall of the Natural History Museum. The neck was cut by a slanting stroke, [87] high in back and low in front: the distance between the lips and the neck cut is 63 mm. on the ventral surface and 121 mm. on the dorsal surface. Two little sticks penetrate the interior of the head through the cervical opening and seem to have been for the purpose of giving rigidity to the strip of dorsal skin. The long, perfectly preserved hair of the animal completely hides this opening. A hole made at the top of the cranium allows the passage of a double suspension cord. The huge lips, projecting in front, are pierced with the three openings characteristic of tsantsas. From

1. Letter published by Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.

the snout to the end of the hair, the object measures 22 cm.

Lubbock (2) reports that women made prisoners are generally killed at the end of a certain time, in order to make tsantsas with their heads. Might not these feminine mummies have a representative value like the sow head of which Barriero spoke, and doubtless like this sloth head that I have just described?

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2. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivet--235
116, 773, 177

(no date) 1908

Jívaro

Missionaries have a curious tendency either to deny that the Jívaro have a religious life or to limit it to some incidental practices. In reality, among these Indians, as among many other primitive people, there are many acts connected with superstitious beliefs, and it is probably that a careful study would considerably augment the number.

The same comment is applicable to the traditions, our knowledge of which is very small and very incomplete. Unfortunately, the Christian myths introduced in the 18th century by the Jesuits have deeply altered the original myths and it is often impossible to discriminate between what is actually Jívaro and what has a Catholic origin.

The Indians have a confused legend of the deluge: in very ancient times a large cloud fell from the sky which changed into rain and caused the death of all the inhabitants of the earth: only an old man and his two sons succeeded in escaping, and they are the ones who repopulated the world. One of these sons was cursed by the father for making fun of him, and the Jívaros are descended from him (1). However, I think the influence of the Biblical legend is too evident. The tradition of the cursed son is found again in the [236] account of Father Prieto (2), but according to him, the survivors must have been a man and a woman who found themselves stranded on a high mountain in a cave together with all the animals. Gonzalez Suarez reports another legend, more interesting, for it is evidently a totemic myth. When the deluge occurred, two brothers escaped death by taking refuge on a high mountain, which rose higher as the flood increased. When the water retreated, they went out in search of food, and on their return, were greatly astonished to find viands in the shelter that they had constructed. In order to clear up the mystery, one of them hid himself and saw two parrots(guacamayos)enter the hut in the form of women, who prepared the meal. Leaving his hiding place quickly, he was able to seize one of these birds, married her, and from this marriage three boys

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., Volume VI, page 224.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit. V. II, page 64.

and three girls were born, which was the beginning of the Jíbaro race (3). Molina (4), the source from which the Ecuadorian author took this tradition, attributes it to the Cañaris, and in his first studies, Gonzalez Suarez (5) does the same, but later researches led him he says, to attribute it to the Jíbaros. It is regrettable that he does not indicate the reasons which decided him in this correction.

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3. Gonzalez Suarez. Aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi, op. cit., page 28.--Prehistoria americana, op. cit., page 17. According to the same author, the tribes of Mainas and other peoples in the eastern region probably had the same legend on the subject of their origin.

4. Christoval de Molina. An account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas; translation by Cl. R. Markham of a manuscript in the Bibliotheque nationale de Madrid (written between 1573 and 1583) in: Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas. Hakluty Society, no. 48. Londres, 1873, in octavo, pp. 8-9.

5. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio sobre los Cañaris, op. cit., page 10.

Of all the tribes, the Muratos have the traditions which have been studied the most; they have been collected by Von Hassel. (1)

Here is one concerning the creation of the world: the great Spirit amused himself by making objects of clay, he constructed a big, blue vase and placed it at the height of the sky. On the subject of the deluge, the legend is more detailed: a Murato had been fishing in a lake of the Pastaza, a little crocodile swallowed his hook and the fisher killed him; the mother of the crocodiles was very much upset and beat the water with her tail in such a manner that she inundated all the territory surrounding the lake. All died except one man who [237] climbed up a pivai palm tree, where he stayed for many days of constant night; from time to time he let fall one of the fruits of the pivai, but he always heard it fall in the water. Finally one day the result was a dry noise; he then descended the tree, constructed a house, set up a field for cultivation, and, with a piece of the flesh of his own body put in the earth, made a woman whom he married.

Finally, here is the origin of the races: at the beginning of the world, all men lived in a big subterranean cave, the entrance to which was guarded by a tiger. An intelligent and courageous man, in order to give freedom to his fellow creatures, attacked the animal and killed it; the prisoners prepared to leave, but as they were very dirty, they heated water in a big jug to wash themselves: the first to come out of this operation

1. Von Hassel, op. cit., pages 68, 69 and 70.

13; Rivet--236-237 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-2
116, 173

became the whites, those who followed were the Indians, because the water was already dirty; the last one remained black.

Although these myths seem to vary from one tribe to the other, all Jíbaro believe in the existence of a superior powerful spirit called iguanchi (1). The missionaries have taken this word for describing the devil. As for the Christian God, the spirit of goodness, that is Yusa, a word derived from Jesus or from Dios, which proves that the Jíbaros do not have the equivalent of it. In reality, the iguanchi does not correspond to the Christian devil. He is neither good nor bad, he is powerful; he is, one might say, a great Jíbaro captain, more powerful than the most renowned chiefs. The savage fears him but does not worship him, and when the missionaries speak to him concerning one who is charitable and merciful, he responds logically that he has no need of honoring a good God who by definition would not know how to wish him anything bad, while there is an advantage in drawing to himself the benevolence of the irritable and vindictive iguanchi(2). The latter frequently appears to the savage on the remote paths in the forest, usually at nightfall, most often in the guise of a monkey spitting fire from his

1. Father Prieto is the only one to call it Cumbanama or Neche. The first of these names recalls the name of the valley of Cumbinama, where Loyola was founded. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., Book II. p.64.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 111.

mouth or [238]of a horned animal which the missionaries compare to a goat (3). The Aguarunas believe that the iguanchi lives in the whirlpools of the Amazon and in a mountain which is found on the left bank of this river at the Pongo de Manseriche (4). He is invulnerable, and the most courageous tremble at the sight of him and flee.

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3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., fifth letter, p. 45. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 114.

4. Manuel Antonio Mesones Muro. Vias al Oriente del Peru. (Boletin de la Sociedad geografica de Lima. 13th year, V . XIII, first quarter 1903, pp. 54-89), p. 81.

It is this omnipotent spirit who directs all the important acts of the Jíbaro's life. His advice is asked when a war is undertaken, it is to him that the wounded address themselves in order to recover their health, it is he who reveals to those who please him the most important secrets for the tribe. In order to enter communication with him it is necessary to drink the infusion of natema(1), the preparation of which I have already described. For this operation, the Indians choose a high and isolated hill. At Macas, the customary place is a hill, from the top of which one can see Sangay (2), a ceaselessly active volcano which seems to play a big part in the religious ideas of the Jíbaros of this region and which they call Tungura (3), a word that the missionaries have adopted to designate hell.

From the bottom of the hill up to the summit, a road is made either in a straight line, or in a spiral, and lined with flowers; at the top, a little shelter (iyámtei) is built, before which a space in the form of an elongated quadrilateral is laid out and levelled. He who is to undergo the test climbs up accompanied by all those who have some interest

1. Colonel Proaño speaks of a narcotic called naje employed for the same purpose by the Ayulis Indians and which ought to be analagous to natema: Vacas Galindo. Limites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., tome III, page 407.
2. Reiss, op. cit., page 336.
3. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 146.

in the consulation of the iguanchi; having arrived at the top, his companions begin to dance to the sound of drums and flutes, during which the hero of the feast drinks the natema. As soon as he falls overcome by the narcotic, the crowd withdraws, leaving him alone in the shelter, after having lit near him a big pile of wood in order to keep beasts away (4). The drink immediately provokes an erethism of all the senses, with hallucinations, as well as a great muscular excitation; the hair bristles, the eyes water, the nostrils dilate, there is a [239] trembling of the lips; gritting of teeth, convulsions, and a loud rattling in the throat. Then follows a lethargic period which lasts about three days, during which the subject remains completely insensible (5). Villavicencio, who tried out the natema on himself, which he called by the Quechua name of ayahuasca, said he had a feeling of dizziness, then the sensation of rising into the air, with dreams of beautiful countries, large cities, high towers, etc., and finally impressions of horrible fear in desperate struggles against ferocious beasts. The effect of the drink is terminated by a strong need of sleep and, on waking, by a heaviness and aching of the head, accompanied sometimes by a general sickness(6).

4. I Jívaros di Mendez e Gualaquiza, op. cit., page 4.
5. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., pp. 112-113.
6. Villavicencio, op. cit., page 373.

It is during the period of excitation that the iguanchi gives the Jíbaro his advice, his miraculous cures, if the motive of the consulation was a recovery of health, or confides to him the name of the individual responsible for the death by witchcraft of a member of the family. Upon awakening, the Indian descends the hill and communicates to his relatives or associates the answer of the Spirit, and depending on whether it is favorable or not, the proposed war or the proposed expedition is immediately decided or postponed until later (7). One can understand how these superstitions contribute to maintain the state of permanent hostility between tribes.

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7. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 112.

One other important cause acts in the same way. For the Jívaro there is no natural death (1). All sickness, all death are considered as the result of an evil spell laid by an enemy using a sorcerer as an intermediary. Each tribe possesses its sorcerer or huishinu, and, since the one who is able to cause illness ought to be equally capable of curing it, this individual is also the doctor: in Jíbaro, the same word describes the two functions. These huishinu have considerable influence and power over the life of the savages. They are feared and surrounded by the attentions of all, they are loaded with presents, but their situation is not free from dangers; [240] of all the individuals in a tribe, the sorcerer is the most exposed to a tragic death, either by neighboring people who accuse him of having caused the death of one of their number by witchcraft, or by his own tribe, if he is suspected because the children have a sickness which he does not know or cannot cure even if it is in his own family. The renown of certain huishinu sometimes extends beyond the limits of the group to which they belong, and there is no hesitation in bringing them to the death bed of a person of distinction, eight to ten days' journey away (2). It seems that this function is not the privilege of certain families:

1. Suicide is exceptional. A single traveller points out its frequence among the Aguaruna women. In two months, two committed suicide in the tribe where he was staying. Mesones Muro, op. cit., page 82.

2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 147.

rather, the most intelligent individuals are attracted by the advantage of the profession, and gradually acquire prestige by their skillfullness and astuteness, in the little circle of people among whom they live.

13: Rivet--240 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 755

Besides exorcism is always accompanied by the administration of infusions of medicinal plants or secret remedies, and clever sorcerers risk undertaking a case only when it seems curable.

This is how the huishinu generally operates: in the obscurity of the night, he pretends to take a narcotic infusion (doubtless natema) which gives him a special power; he pretends to be possessed by a spirit (probably the iguanchi), he sings, repeats certain special phrases, makes certain gestures, speaks to an invisible being, and at the same time massages, kneads, bites or sucks, the affected part of the body. These manœuvers last a long time, then suddenly, as if astonished himself with the result obtained, he cries out: "Here it is!" has the lights lit and shows the astonished family a spider, a frog, an ant, a chonta spike, or some other analogous object, saying: "Here is the cause of the illness your relative was suffering; he will get better now unless it is necessary to take out some other things from him in the following days"; then he names the author of the witchcraft (1). And there is war in prospect, for the sick Jíbaro or his children, if he succumbs, will not rest peacefully until the culprit has fallen under their blows.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 143.

13: Rivet--240-241 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116. 775

The savages believe in another life. The veneration [241] accorded to their dead, is the evident proof of it; this second existence differs in no way from the one they lead on earth; they have the same physical needs, the same material necessities and the same pleasures. That is why the relatives bury the body of the dead with food, various liquids, and his weapons. It is probable that the hermetic sealing of the doors of the house where the dead is left is as much for the purpose of guaranteeing the relatives against a possible return of the deceased as assuring rest to the departed. Certain tribes at least believe in transmigration: if the deceased was a brave warrior, he returns in the form of an animal which personifies bravery; but if he was a coward, he assumes the appearance of a snake, a spider, a toad, or some other repugnant animal (1).

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1. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit. V. II, page 63.

13: Rivet--241 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 614, 773

Information on the existence of totems in the Jíbaro country is rare. The story regarding the flood, which I related before, is evidently of a totemic nature, but a doubt exists as to the legitimacy of its attribution to our Indians. The Aguarunas do not eat the meat of the Hydrochoerus capybara, the Tapirus americanus or the venado (1). Knowing that the other tribes use these animals for food, one may certainly conclude that the Aguarunas are governed by a prohibition of totemic nature specialised by clans, and that a more attentive study would reveal similar facts among the other tribes.

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1. Enrique Brunning. De Chiclayo a Puerto Melendez en el Maranon. (Boletin de la Sociedad geografica de Lima. Volume XIII, 1903, pp. 12-159; 249-295; 385-418; V. XV, 1904, pp. 1-57) pp. 388 and 403.

13: Rivet--241-242 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 793, 796

The Jíbaro all have a series of ceremonies which are as yet little known, but the character of which is almost always clearly religious. They are all regulated by personages incorrectly called priests by the missionaries. To my knowledge there is no individual in Jíbaro society who corresponds to the role of priest in ours. I have already said that the savage communicates directly with the iguanchi. The so-called priest is an old man who, because of his great [242] experience, is very well acquainted with the traditions and customs of his ancestors, and whose role is limited to giving the concoction of tobacco to be drunk, to direct the singing, dancing and details of the ceremonies, and to distribute the food among the participants. This function is by no means the privilege of certain families, and does not give a special rank to those who exercise it. In exchange for his good services, the old man simply receives from the one who pays the expenses of the feast a triple ration of food, a dog, an itipi, a blowgun, and sometimes even an ax. An old woman called Ujaja plays an analogous role with regard to the women(1).

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 25.

13: Rivet--242 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796

The principal ceremonies are the marriage feast, which I have already described, and those of the women, of tobacco, and of the tsantsas.

13: Rivet--242[2]
116, 585, 796

(no date) 1908

Jívaro

The women's feast takes place when the manioc or bananas planted by the newly-married couple are ripe. It is to make the new wife industrious and zealous. The old man opens the ceremony by preparing the chicha according to the accustomed manner before the young wife, while giving her many bits of advice: "It is thus that you should serve your husband; never permit him to be thirsty; you will give it to him to drink even if he does not ask you for it, etc." Then begins the drinking and the dance which lasts three days.

13: Rivet--242-243 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 796, 276

The tobacco feast, so called because of the great quantity of the tobacco concoction which is consumed, is to ensure the fertility of the fields, the fattening and fecundity of the hogs. It is more solemn than the preceding ceremony, is attended by more guests, and requires a greater quantity of food and drink. It usually lasts three days, but the guests may stay as long as the food and drink hold out. Under the pretext of helping in the preparations of the feast, certain less scrupulous friends even come to stay with the one who is paying the expenses ten days before the celebration.

Each morning, at three o'clock, a curious dialogue which last three long hours is carried on between the director of the [KS: tobacco] ceremonies and his host. The latter expounds all his grievances at length: "I have no hogs, my children are hungry, I am very poor, what shall I do?" to which the old man answers: "Perform the ceremony well and you will see: so and so was more miserable than you, and after he celebrated the tobacco feast, you see, he has so many cultivated fields, [243] so many hogs and other riches (here an interminable list)" (1).

Simson, according to Father Pozzi, reports that in Gualaquiza a ceremony takes place when a child of three or four years of age is initiated into the art of smoking. All the family being gathered together, the oldest member present makes a long discourse in

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, pp. 52-53.

which he praises the courage of his ancestors and some members of the tribe, enumerates the number of enemies killed and expresses the hope that the representative of the new generation will imitate these noble examples. Finally, he puts a pipe into the hands of the young novice and after he has drawn on it a few times, all the assistants smoke gravely around him and begin to drink in order to celebrate the great event (2). This account is incomplete opposition to my findings, according to which the Jíbaros are not aware of the use of the pipe, and even Simson himself reports that an Indian from Canelos wished to try his pipe and was made as uncomfortable as a high-school boy at his first attempts.

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2. Simson, op. cit., pages 388 and 393.

13: Rivet--242-243 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
195, 521

Each morning, at three o'clock, a curious dialogue which last three long hours is carried on between the director of the [KS: tobacco] ceremonies and his host. The latter expounds all his grievances at length: "I have no hogs, my children are hungry, I am very poor, what shall I do?" to which the old man answers: "Perform the ceremony well and you will see: so and so was more miserable than you, and after he celebrated the tobacco feast, you see, he has so many cultivated fields, [243] so many hogs and other riches (here an interminable list)"

13: Rivet--243-244 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796, 247, 535

There is also in Gualaquiza a flower feast, in which the Indians dance around one of the house-posts (on the men's side) ornamented with foliage; and Father Pozzi mentioned a feast, also with dancing, on the day when an Indian puts on for the first time the girdle made of the hair of enemies killed by his own hand (1).

These celebrations are extraordinarily noisy; the assistants shout and sing at the top of their voices, the frightened dogs bark, the tunduli resounds continuously, the sound of the drums, the flutes and the trumpets mingle in a cacophony unbearable to the ear of a European. The dance does not stop an instant; fatigued dancers are immediately replaced by others. The dance, according to an Ecuadorian who has been present at the feast of the flowers in Gualaquiza, consists of the following: sometimes men and women holding hands form around the decorated post a big circle which increases or decreases according to the rhythm of the music; sometimes a couple detaches itself and dances, but without interweaving: the man takes three steps forward and three back, while the woman facing him jumps up and down [244] with her feet together, jingling? rattling the maco which she wears on the shin. These chorographic motions are completely devoid of grace. This description proves that among the tribes of Gualaquiza, contrary to the rule, the two sexes take part in dancing. At Macas, I have already said that this happens only in the marriage ceremony.

1. Luigi Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell'Equatore. Bolletino della Societa geografica italiana. Rome, 15 vol., 1878, p. 97-102.

All the feasts that I have just described are of very little importance compared to the one of which I am now going to speak: the feast of the tsantsas or tsantsa-tucui (1). After a warrior has killed one of his enemies, he knows that he ought to prepare to celebrate the killing: if he does not, a thousand misfortunes will come upon him, his seeds will not sprout, his animals will not prosper, his family and he himself will die, and the annoyed soul of the dead person will not allow him any rest until he has performed the traditional ceremonies. As soon as he returns from the war expedition, the Jíbaro celebrates first with neighbors and friends the feast called de entrada, in which the old man presiding at these performances gives him the concoction of tobacco to drink. This ceremony is naturally the occasion for a drinking feast of several days. After this, the possessor of the tsantsa undergoes a rigorous fast (2), that is to say, he abstains from all game killed by arrows, from certain birds and special animals; he is only permitted to eat fish, manioc, bananas without condiments, and certain small birds killed with the blowgun. He paints his body with black lines and on his face wears a streak of the same color which goes from one ear to the other, passing above the

1. Ordinaire. Les sauvages du Perou, op. cit., page 318.

2. The religious fast is a practice found among a great many Amazonian tribes, particularly the Purus.--De Santa-Anna Nery. Le Pays des Amazones: L'El-Dorado. Les terres a caoutchouc. Paris, 2nd ed., 1899, page 377.

upper lip. He travels without his lance, a particularly painful sacrifice for a savage always exposed to an attack (3). Also, he stops all sexual intercourse (4).

This special mortification, which is not peculiar to the feast of the tsantsas, is considered by the savage as the most sure means of obtaining what he wishes: the father, who wishes that his son be vigorous and healthy, fasts until seeing him robust and well developed; he who wishes that his dog will become a good hunter fasts too (5) [245]

With the greatest fidelity the Jíbaros observe this difficult abstinence, which lasts from many months to two years, that is to say, all the time necessary for the preparation of the feast; certain famous chiefs take seven or even ten years (6).

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3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 56.
4. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, p. 215.
5. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op.cit., p. 116.
6. ibid, p. 119.

13: Rivet--245-246 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 796

These preparations [KS: for the tsantsa feast] consist in planting two or more fields of manioc and bananas; the clearing, the preparation of the land, and the sowing demand at least a year; then it is necessary to wait for the harvesting, to make an enormous quantity of chicha (about 300 jars), to organize big hunting parties and big fishing trips in order to obtain [246] plenty of food for the numerous guests (1). I have already said that game is preserved wrapped up in certain leaves which keep it from spoiling, and that the fish is smoked. The expense of this feast is so great that often a number of Jívaros arrange to celebrate it together.

The day of the ceremony finally having arrived, the relatives and friends invited in advance arrive from all sections, sometimes from places ten days distant. All bring their best costumes and ornaments.

1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 116.

At Gualaquiza, the ritual is as follows(1): The old man directing the ceremonies seats himself in the middle of the house, and the Jíbaro enters armed with his lance, carrying the tsantsa in his left hand. The old man stands up, takes the head and plunges it successively into a decoction of tobacco, into a jar of chicha, and then into pure water; then he makes the hero of the day sit down and in turn presents him with these different liquids (fig. 24). This ceremony is for the purpose of "breaking the fast" and thanks to it, the man believes himself free of all obligation. He gets up, takes his trophy and suspends it from the principal house post, which is decorated with flowers, stuffed birds and numerous other trinkets. The old man then begins to talk, improvising a violent panegyric of the victor, whom he calls "a brave Jíbaro, skillful in avenging an injury", heaping the victim's tribe with invective, insulting him and ridiculing him: "Why," he says, "did you not watch? Why were you surprised? Why did you not rub your eyes with pimento in order to have keen sight?"(2) This harangue over, the men take each other by the hand and form a long chain in the interior of the house, and they dance, jumping and walking (fig. 25). In Macas, the women make a similar concentric

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1. Bulletin salesien, August 1896, page 175.
2. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, page 216.

chain to that of the men; only the wife of the hero of the feast is admitted into the men's chain. Each time the latter dances, the old man detaches the tsantsa from the post and suspends it around his neck (3). Sometimes the dance takes place half [247] inside and half outside the house, the chain of dancers entering by one door and leaving by the other, always singing and shouting, and each individual making a kind of genuflection in passing before the trophy. (4).

Finally the old man distributes the bananas and the food among the merrymakers. The piningas of chicha are passed around. The dancing and drinking continue for six days in the midst of an infernal uproar. In fact, the Jíbaro has a very tractable stomach; when, under the influence of drinking, he finds himself somewhat ill, he leaves an instant, vomits, hurries to bathe himself, and returns with high spirits to the house in order to recommence drinking, shouting and dancing. During all the time that the feast lasts, the invited guests live at the expense of their host. Every morning, about 3 or four o'clock, each family receives a jar full of boiled chicha and a plate of fish.

3. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, page 54.
4. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misioned dominicanas, op. cit., Fifth letter, page 49.

In the middle of the night on the sixth day, ten very fat hogs (sometimes more) are killed; an excellent bouillon is prepared, of which each one takes his share at daybreak, then each guest [248] receives a big piece of uncooked meat from the old man, the last gift, which is the signal for departure. Everyone leaves that morning. (5).

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5. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, page 55.

13: Rivet--248
116, 796, 727

(no date) 1908

Jívaro

Certain details of this feast seem to vary according to the tribes: in Macas, the old man does not wash the tsantsa but paints it black, and "breaks the fast" by putting into the mouth of the owner a piece of hog and making him drink the decoction of tobacco (1).

Barriero (2) and Lubbock (3) report that, in the same tribe, the possessor of the trophy, after having suspended it from a post above the tsantsas brought by the merrymakers, insults it vehemently; the old man answers in the name of the victim. At a given moment, the victor carried away by anger hits the mummy with his lance, then sews up its lips in order to condemn it to silence. I have not been able to obtain confirmation of this account from my informants; all have told me that the sewing up of the lips has no other purpose than to prevent the mouth from opening during the desiccation.

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Sixth letter, pp. 54 and 56.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.
3. Lubbock, op. cit., page 30.

13: Rivet--248 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796

According to Barriero, the conqueror suspends the head from a stick in the open air; his favorite wife, holding him by the belt, accompanies him in this procedure. This is the greatest honor which can be conferred on a Jíbaro woman. Behind her, all the men, holding onto each other in the same manner, form a long chain.

According to Reiss (1), the house in which the ceremony has been celebrated, especially built for this purpose, is immediately abandoned, as after a death.

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1. Reiss, op. cit., page 335.

13: Rivet--248-249 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 796, 778

The exact meaning of the feast of the tsantsas is difficult to determine. However, it seems that it may well be a kind of reparation toward the dead, that it has the meaning of an expiatory ceremony. In fact, the tsantsa thereupon becomes a veritable fetich which assures its possessor, his relatives and associates, an abundance of good things, the fertility of fields, the prosperity of the family and the tribe, victory over his enemies, and immortality (1). According to Barriero, it will serve equally well as an oracle, when it is interrogated by an individual [249] under the influence of natema; moreover, when the crop is not large or when the domestic animals are not prolific, the women have the so-called supplication feast, in which they dance singly, one holding on to the other, the old man carrying the idol; if the ceremony has no result, they cut off the hair of the mummy and throw it into the woods (2).

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 119.
2. Lettre publiee par Bollaert, op. cit., page 113.

13: Rivet--249
116, 796, 727

(no date) 1908

Jívaro

Formerly the Jíbaros, after the celebration of the feast, suspend the trophies on posts along the roads, after having cut the hair, so that time will destroy them (1), or else preserve them in jars in order to decorate themselves in certain victory anniversary feasts (2), sometimes at the end of many years, they throw them into the rivers (3). They part with them with great reluctance, and Barriero tells how he had to use a ruse in order to obtain a specimen (4). At present, the tsantsas have become a real object of commerce for the tribes in contact with the whites.

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre los misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 48.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 65.
3. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio sobre los Cañaris, op. cit., page 33.
4. Lettre published by Bollaert, op. cit., page 112.

The meaning of these trophies is thus rather complex. Among the Aguarunas, the possession of a tsantsa is indispensable to admission into the warrior class and the possession of wives (1). This requirement of initiation seems peculiar to this tribe. No where else does one find classes among the Jîbaros. However, according to Father Prieto, the Indians of Gualaquiza designate under the name Cocarama those among them who have distinguished themselves by the number of enemies killed (2). Perhaps there was then a true warrior class, as among the Aguarunas.

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1. Von Hassel, op. cit., page 63.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 65.

13: Rivet-249-250 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 727, 293, 301

The girdles made with the human hair from the tsantsas seem to play a role very similar to the tsantsas themselves. They serve as ornaments only in feasts and on war expeditions. A Jíbaro man will never consent to lend this object, which is the visible proof of the number of his exploits, and upon his death, his relatives encircle [250] his body with it. (1) In case the deceased does not have a tsantsa to leave to his sons, the girdle is preserved by them as a souvenir of his valor (2).

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1. Colini. Osservazion etnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 30; Collezione etnografica degli indigeni dell' alto Amazzoni, op. cit., page 35.--Simson, op. cit., page 387. Osculati, op. cit., note on page 37.

2. Pigorini. Di una collezione etnologica della Repubblica dell' Equatore, op. cit., page 102.

13: Rivet--250 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 825

The study of all these religious manifestations shows us to what extent the Jíbaro is the slave of his beliefs. Like all simple beings, he also believes in omens. Dreams have for him a significance; if he dreams that he has been able to catch a wild hog, as soon as he gets up, he takes his lance, sets forth into the forest and does not return until he has killed one of these animals; if in his dreams he is bitten by a serpent, he does not leave his house on the following day for any reason.

13: Rivet--250 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 821

When the wind blows violently, the women and children leave the huts uttering loud shouts, trying to put the wind to flight in this manner, while the men also shout at the top of their voices, encircling the posts of the house so that the gale does not upset them (1).

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1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, p. 64-65.

13: Rivet--250 [3] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 821, 787

When a violent storm comes, the Jîbaros leave their dwellings with lances and shields, shouting. In the direction of the bright lightning and reverberating thunder, they threaten an invisible enemy whom they thus intend to frighten. In fact, they are sure that the tribes living in that direction are uniting in order to come and make war against them.

13: Rivet--250 [4] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 787, 821

Father Pancheri says that a Jîbaro who passed the night at Gualaquiza in his room went out into the corridor before lying down and began to blow hard and to murmur incomprehensible words. Interrogated, he answered that he thus kept away death and the iguanchi (1).

If one throws chicha into a river, big clouds will arise on the horizon (2).

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1. Pancheri, op. cit., El Republicano, Quito paper. No. 106, February 7, 1894.
2. Bulletin salesien, February 1902, page 50.

13: Rivet--250-251 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 757

I have already spoken of the method for recovering the breath after the sale of a blow-gun. Most of the supposed medical secrets [251] of the Jíbaros are merely similar superstitious practices. However, there is no doubt that their pharmocopoeia is still poorly known, and in addition to their exorcisms the huishinu use certain remedies (plant infusions, etc.). The decoction of tobacco appears to be a veritable panacea for the savages. In addition the Jíbaro are acquainted with bleeding, which they practice 10 cm. above the bend of the elbow in inflammatory infections. (1)

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1. Colini. Osservazioni etnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 19.

13: Rivet--251 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 164, 753

Illnesses are rare, because of the robustness of the individuals and the healthy life that they lead, and, as the savages say, thanks to the daily washing of the stomach. Against smallpox, which so often burst out in deadly epidemics in Christians' settlements, the Indians know only one remedy, dispersion and abandonment of the sick. The Aguarunas, however, take care of their sick in little houses separated from the communal habitation.(1)

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1. Mesones Muro, op. cit., page 81.

On the other hand, wounds received in war or in hunting are frequent. I have described the procedure of asking the iguanchi for a cure in these serious cases. It is very probable that the Jíbaros do not have any efficient remedy for snakebite. Rimbach (1) described the treatment given one of his oarsmen who was bitten by a venomous snake, as follows: he took a little round wooden bowl, filled it with tobacco and, having put it up to his mouth, he began to sing night and day into the interior of the bowl some unintelligible phrases following a certain melody; he evidently believed that by these songs he would make the poison pass from his body into the tobacco, for from time to time, he burned it and immediately resumed him monotonous chant; he did not undergo any other medical treatment.

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1. A. Rimbach. Reise im Gebiet des oberen Amazonas (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde zu Berlin, V. XXXII, 1897, p. 360-409) (with one map), p. 381.

13: Rivet--251 [3] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116. 771

In short, it appears that, without having any need for temples or altars, beliefs of a religious nature dominate the life of the savage, and that superstitious practices are mingled with all the acts of his life.

13: Rivet--252 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 802

The Jíbaros do not have extensive learning. Father Plaza (1) says that they can count only up to 4, Raimondi up to 5 (2). Reiss (3) reports that in Macas the savages make use of their fingers to indicate numbers. The Aguarunas only have special numbers up to five and for the higher figures use their fingers and toes (4). The dialects of Macas, Gualaquiza and Zamora possess words for the first ten numbers; above 20, the Indians use the word irúnima which means "numerous". In places where they have come in contact with the Whites, they use the Quechua number systems above 10.

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1. Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 295.
2. Raimondi. On the Indian Tribes of the great District of Loreto, op. cit., page 39.
3. Reiss, op. cit., page 336.
4. G. M. von Hassel. Vocabulario aguaruna (Boletin de la Sociedad geografica de Lima, 12 year, V. XII, 1902, first quarter, page 83.)

13: Rivet--252 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 805, 823

Time is counted by moons. The year is called chonta from the name of a plant which gives fruit regularly every year. The astronomical knowledge of the savages seems most rudimentary; however, the surety with which they find their way in their forests appears to demonstrate that they use the position of certain stars to orient themselves. They have no idea that the earth is round, and think that if they arrived at the horizon they would fall into a big abyss (1). The only civilized country that they know or that they have visited is Ecuador, which the Macas call Tunguini(2); the Zamoras call the city of Loja by the name of Tunguina.

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 393.
2. Ansola Martinez, op. cit.

13: Rivet--252 [3] (no date) 1908 Álvaro
Hé. 202

They have no system of writing.

13: Rivet--252 [4] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 323

The arts are little developed among the Jíbaros. However, their pottery has pleasing shapes and sometimes pretty designs, and the ornaments, which they like to wear, are as remarkable for their elegance as for their strangeness.

13: Rivet--253 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 533

Dancing, music and singing are high in honor. I have already said that the Jíbaros lack grace. According to the missionaries, their music and their singing would be unbearable to the ear of a White, but it is necessary to take into account the performers' drunkenness during the course of the feasts. The proof of that is that one of my friends who lived in Gualaquiza for a long time, where he was known and loved by the savages, and who had occasion to pass an evening with one of them without drinking, gave an entirely different opinion: "In the middle of the entertainment", he wrote me, "I asked that the two wives of Santiago (so the Indian was called) let us hear some songs. Santiago agreed and even joined his voice with theirs. I hear even now the harmony of this song; it was so gentle and so melodious that I had them repeat it two or three times. I profited by this in order to put the words in my notebook; finally, I asked the Jíbaro the meaning of what I had written, and I acquired the conviction that they sang whatever came to their minds, without any order, in other words, that they improvised words to a familiar air."

Unfortunately, up to now no traveller has taken phonograph recordings among the Indians.

13: Rivet--253 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 534

The drum plays an important role in the Jîbaro orchestras, and adds in giving the music a character of great monotony; in fact, the drumming, consisting of one long beat and two short ones, does not cease while the feast lasts (1).

1. Simson, op. cit., page 392.

13: Rivet--253-254 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 577

The moral ideas of the Jîbaro are clearly evident from what we have said of his life, his customs, and his beliefs. His morality, primarily utilitarian, resembles Christian morals as little as possible. The Jívaro is neither good nor bad. One cannot speak of right, of honesty, with regard to these Indians, who recognize only the law of the strongest. Stealing by main force is a popular practice among them, (1), they consider assassination as a glorious act and treachery as a proof of skill and intelligence, in their eyes success justifies all crimes, and among them renown and respect are acquired, not by [254] the most honest, not even by the bravest, but by the most skillful and the most powerful.

To live freely, and allow no injury without vengeance: such is the double moral rule that directs all actions in the life of the savages.

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1. However, stealing outside of war would be frowned upon. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jîbaros, etc...op. cit. in Compte, op. cit., V. II, page 63.

13: Rivet--254 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 153

The Jîbaro is one of the most intelligent Indians of South America, when alcohol and natema have not exerted their disastrous influence upon him. Simson reports in detail the conversation that he had with a member of the Canelos tribe to whom he spoke in detail concerning the roundness of the earth, and the civilization of western peoples. He insists upon the interest that his listener took in this account (1). The missionaries praise the vivacity, roguishness, and open minds of the children. To this intelligence, the Jîbaro adds an irresistable passion for liberty. Absolute master in his family, without strict obligation toward his tribe, he intends to stay independent in the territory that he considers his own domain. Exile is powerless to change the state of the savage's soul: young Jîbaros, taken in infancy from the influence of their environment, raised in Ecuadorian cities, upon arriving at adult age dream only of returning to their forests, and soon lose all impressions from their stay in civilized country.

The history of this fierce tribe, like the customs of its members, is dominated by this spirit of independence, developed to an instinctive state.

1. Simson, op. cit., pp. 392-393.

13: Rivet--254-255 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 153, 669

Horror of all subjection gives the Jíbaro a great distrust of the White. Experience has shown him that he has as much to fear from the White as from his worst enemies, and his first thought is to suspect all individuals of bad intentions toward him. Simson relates the difficulty that his companion, M. Sarkady, had in photographing two Indians because they were sure the operator carried away their souls with the plate which retained their features (1). But this mistrust, wholly natural and legitimate, quickly changes into excessive and often importune trust. Once his fears are calmed, the Jíbaro allows his curiosity free reign, and attracted by all the new objects that he sees, he asks about their use, which he immediately verifies himself, touching everything, trying [255] everything, even putting on your clothes; the smallest object attracts him and charms him, exciting his covetousness. It is easy to see how, by using these easily-aroused childish desires, white traders are able to procure at low prices the precious products of the forest. An Ecuadorian told me he had persuaded an Indian to prepare for him an entire human skin in the same manner as the tsantsas, in exchange for a bad gun.

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 392.

13: Rivet--255 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
U6, 157, 183

Besides these traits of character which make the Jîbaro rather agreeable, he has others which make him a really dangerous being. Crafty and changeable, incapable of attachment, he never hesitates at treachery. Assassinations are not rare in Jîbaro country. The descendants of the fierce assailants of Logroño and Sevilla de Oro are worthy of their ancestors. The traveller whom they welcome with joy perhaps will fall under their lances some hours later. The missionaries have many times experienced their duplicity. One of them tells how on his return from Canelos he was abandoned one evening on the bank of the river, without shelter, without food, without defense in the middle of the virgin forest, by the very Indians who the same morning had spontaneously and enthusiastically offered to accompany him to Baños (1).

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1. Voyage d'exploration chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, op. cit., page 257.

13: Rivet--255 [2] (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 157, 183

Very vindictive, the savage never forgets an injury, no matter how trifling, and he is only satisfied when he has achieved a brilliant revenge. We have seen that this feeling brings about a permanent state of these bloody wars between tribes which endanger the future of the race.

According to the standards of the Whites, the Jíbaro is lazy, but perhaps the judgment is too severe; it is true the men leave the hardest work to the women, but custom demands it. He cannot tie himself down to a regular job, but in the first place his independent nature refuses to accept the least subjection, and on the other hand, the savage does not see the need of increasing a well-being which satisfies him; he works only when he wishes to acquire some desirable object (gun, ax, brandy); otherwise, surrounded by a prodigal nature, in a climate of unequalled mildness, he has nothing to fear from hunger or cold, and he does not have to worry about a future which is assured in advance. Therefore, from his point of view, the Jíbaro has reason for not working. In addition, we have seen that when the occasion arises he knows how to prove himself enduring and resistant and to put to work all his moral energy and physical vigor.

13: Rivet--256 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 177, 797

The moral picture which I have just quickly outlined, after having studied the customs of the race in detail, shows what a thankless task the missionaries have undertaken and explains to a certain extent the failure of their attempts up to this time. He who understands only Christian doctrines runs head-on into the most deeply-rooted customs of the people. To advise the Jîbaro to forgive injuries, when all his life is dominated by the desire for vengeance, to point out to him the goodness of the Catholic God, when the only thing he respects is strength, to explain to him the idea of being good to one's neighbor, when he only thinks of lucrative pillage from his neighbor, to limit him to a single wife and to make her his equal when for years he has practiced authoritarian polygamy, to oblige this lover of liberty to accept the many subjections of communal life, the constraint of certain rules, to try to make his mind, accustomed only to concrete realities, understand the abstraction of the Christian mysteries and dogmas, that is to ask too much of the savage, too many sacrifices, that is to upset his entire life without giving him sufficient compensation, in a word, it is to undertake a hopeless work, destined to certain failure.

And in fact, the missionaries succeed in nothing or almost nothing. In order to make their neophytes understand them, they are obliged to use their own language, and they have tried to adapt to the Christian conception the words which are used to designate the native divinities. They have made the iguanchi the devil, and tungura hell; but these

words have taken on a new meaning only in the minds of the priests; for the baptized Jíbaro, they have kept their primitive significance. The teachers of the catechism and those being taught do not understand each other, and seem to understand only thanks to ambiguity. So it is that a missionary may rejoice over having heard an old Indian say on seeing a child baptized: "It is a good thing to wash the head in this manner, because it frightens the iguanchi" (1). In reality, Christian baptism is to the savage only an operation of beneficent magic which has been added to the things they already practiced, the priest is only a huichiau who has brought into the Amazonian forest the secret of new formulae for conciliating the divinities and spirits.

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1. Bulletin salesien, February 1898, page 30.

The unhappy missionary is not the dupe of his neophytes in this point of view alone. The Jíbaro is intelligent; he has become aware very quickly of all the advantages that an apparent conversion can bring to him; he has understood that by undergoing certain inoffensive acts and perhaps useful ones, he easily obtains from the priests many objects which the white merchants sell to him very expensively; and in order to receive presents, he does not hesitate to come to claim baptism many times; this custom has reached such a point that now the missionaries only administer this sacrament on condition. The stock of gifts depleted, the savages make it clear to the priest that there is nothing for him to do but leave, and if he stays, it is they who leave (1). "For the Jíbaro, religion is a game, he makes himself a Christian if you give him three meters of worthless cloth and, in a frenzy of enthusiasm, asks for baptism ten and twenty times, although he has already been baptized as many times, then with the greatest impiety, denying the religion which he so enthusiastically embraced, he soon kills his enemy whom he meets, kills his own wife in a moment of anger and asks three or four Indian girls in marriage (2)." I find the same opinion and the same complaint coming just

1. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 40.
2. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit. Fifth letter, page 38.

recently from the pen of Salesien (3).

Here, where the more experienced and ardent missionaries of the 18th century have failed, the friars of our time have little chance for success.

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3. Bulletin salesien, August 1907, page 102.

Does this mean the savages of the upper Amazon will never recognize the benefits of civilization? I fear so. Except for the priests, the Whites who live in these remote regions have other concerns than desiring to lead the savage to a higher conception of social life. One may say that the Jîbaros have only received from civilization two sad presents by this agency, smallpox and epidemic maladies which are sufficient reasons for their refusal to group together in villages, and alcohol which weakens and kills a naturally vigorous and beautiful race.

The future of the Indians, which I have just been discussing, is only too clearly apparent. Like their brothers of North America, they are doomed to disappearance, the rapidity of which will depend on the [258] rapidity with which the upper Amazonian provinces are populated. They will be annihilated as the Whites take possession of their vast forests where nature still guards so many unexploited riches, which will soon attract foreigners weary of the struggle in their own countries, on impoverished and miserly soil.